

not have the support of the Congress. Let us not send troops to Bosnia.

REMOVE THE ETHICAL CLOUD FROM THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOGGETT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the question this afternoon is how long our Republican colleagues will be able to hold the lid down on the pressure cooker, the pressure cooker of the desires of the people of this country to see justice, to see the ethical cloud removed from the operations of this Congress.

Today, we have seen that it will take a little bit longer, for, for the second time, this Congress has refused to even discuss in the light of day whether a committee of this Congress should come forward and tell us what it has been doing for the last 14 months with regard to charges concerning the Speaker of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that our Republican colleagues can hold that pressure cooker lid down. They can stand on it. They can sit on it. They can jump up and down on it. But sooner or later, enough people in this country are going to care about the operations of this House and the ethics of this House that they are going to demand a report and demand action.

We see the same concern with reference to the broader issue of the way all Members, the Speaker, myself, every Member of this institution, gets to this body with reference to the cost of campaigns.

All over this country, people are expressing their concern about the operation of the campaign finance system. I think they are pleased that despite the Speaker, we moved forward and banned gifts from lobbyists to Members of this Congress. They are pleased that despite the Speaker holding at his desk for month, after month, after month, a lobby reform bill, there was finally enough pressure built up that the lid came off that pressure cooker and we passed a lobby reform bill this week, despite his effort.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the big issue is campaign finance reform and whether there will be enough public interest to do something about that. The Speaker shook hands with President Clinton back in June in New Hampshire. They smiled at each other, it was a nice moment, and agreed that they would do something about campaign finance reform and what did they do? Well, the Speaker waited from June until November and then he came along and said, "You know what we need is a commission to study this." A stall commission to delay it past the next election. Then the Speaker went on to elaborate in testimony in front of a committee of this House that what we need is not less money in the political process; we need more money. The Speaker said there is less money going

into all these campaigns than the equivalent of two antiacid campaigns.

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I think that is enough to give Americans heartburn, as they think about the future of our political system and the ethics of our system. If they had reason for concern, they certainly have reason for concern today when they look at papers across this country and reports about the improper activities of GOPAC, a committee that—essentially the "go" in GOPAC meant it was OK to go beyond the law.

In fact, after reading these stories, I now understand why it is that the Speaker thinks we need more money in the political process, that we are not spending enough on campaigns. That is because he has had a little more all along. He has had a little more through an organization called GOPAC that did not bother to comply with the Federal election laws, that according to the documents filed by the Federal Election Commission in Federal court here in Washington, apparently spent a quarter of a million dollars to benefit him in his reelection campaign a few years ago, an election campaign that he just barely made it back to this Congress, a pretty nice sum of additional money, maybe enough to promote anticid in Georgia, but certainly enough to get a person reelected outside and improperly, under our laws.

Let me just speak a little bit about those court documents and quote from some of them. The Federal Election Commission told the Federal judge here in Washington:

Hiding the identity of large contributors to organizations associated with elected officials and Federal candidates creates the appearance of corruption and makes enforcement of the act's other provisions unnecessarily difficult.

This is exactly what GOPAC did. I am quoting the FEC on this.

It did it for the avowed purpose of electing a majority of Republicans to the U.S. House of Representatives.

GOPAC's failure to register and file disclosure reports creates the appearance of corruption, and it is that appearance of corruption that the American people are learning about and eventually, no matter how many people you put on top of that pressure cooker, that lid is going to explode, and the demands of the American people for justice on this matter are going to be realized.

I refer again to the documents filed in Federal court here by the Federal Election Commission. It said that, unlike the Republican National Committee and the other two Republican Party committees, where Gingrich's idea might be too controversial, GOPAC could be as bold as it wanted to be, and its only restriction was whether or not its donors wanted to keep donating.

The only restriction on this issue is whether the American people will speak up firmly enough to demand we

have justice both on the ethics charges against the Speaker and on the need to see that this kind of GOPAC big spending is ended.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WHITE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Ms. DELAURO] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Ms. DELAURO addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

D.C. FISCAL PROTECTION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, this is day 16 of my countdown to December 15. I will be here every day we are in regular session.

Next Wednesday, there is a hearing on the D.C. Fiscal Protection Act. I am here to protect the District of Columbia from another shutdown on December 15. I am here to protect 600,000 residents who are not parts of a Federal agency but tax-paying citizens of the Capital City of the United States, who got shut down in the last shutdown, even though they had no part in the struggle between the Congress and the Executive.

I thank the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DAVIS], who is a cosponsor of the D.C. Fiscal Protection Act which will get its hearing next Wednesday. The act has been well named; fiscal protection because the District of Columbia needs to be protected from any further blows to its fiscal health. Surely I do not need to tell my colleagues that the District is in delicate condition. There is a control board which is seeking to help the District return to financial solvency.

A shutdown of the District for the second time simply puts the city in the hospital. The Congress wants the opposite. If it indeed expects the opposite to occur, it must take action to make sure there is no shutdown.

Mr. Speaker, when the Federal Government shut down, for most Americans there was no direct hit, even though there was very direct inconvenience; and where there might have been something approaching a direct hit, the Congress took action to protect Americans and, I might add, to protect Members from the wrath of Americans, such as the exceptions that were passed to allow workers on Social Security to come to work.

The District of Columbia, on the other hand, was hit in three direct ways, three direct hits. First, the District Government was shut down. Second, District residents had their vital services wiped out and could not receive them. Finally, Federal employees who work in the District had to remain home.

Let me say a word about Federal employees today. I have not talked about them as much in past days. This is a home of the Federal Government. Of course, it follows that our largest employer is the Federal Government and, therefore, we have a disproportionate number of employers, about 60,000, who were forced to stay home on forced administrative leave. These are some of the most stable employees. We are trying hard to keep them.

Imagine what they might be thinking now: "At least if I lived in the suburbs, if they shut down the Federal Government, my vital services would still be available to me."

Please help us keep our tax-paying residents. If we have to shut down, give us an exception for D.C. employees. Let me say what has happened to these employees. The effect on them is simply intolerable. Because of the District's financial crisis, they have already given back 12 percent of their income to the city last year and took 6 furlough days. This year our unionized employees will give back 3 percent to the city and have 6 more furlough days. Would my colleagues like to tell folks like that that they might risk not getting their pay or that they probably will get their pay but they have to stay home and let backlogs of work build up?

What about my cops, the cops who are now working straight time, not overtime, on the weekends and at night? These sacrifices are being made by D.C. employees at a time when the American standard of living has been stable or going down for two decades. Front-line services, from trash collection to day-care centers that happen to be in libraries, were closed because libraries were closed.

There was a plethora of services that were closed for business, vital services, services that keep the residents alive and going. One of the most vital actions that was closed down, however, had to do with the multiyear plan which is due here in early February, the plan that is central to reviving the District. If we missed that deadline, there will be howls throughout this body.

Virtually all Members directly involved recognize that something has to be done, and I thank them all. I thank the Speaker for recognizing it and telling me that he thought something special should be done for the District if we shut down the Federal Government. I thank Mr. DAVIS for the hearing coming up and for his cosponsorship of my bill. The gentleman from New York, [Mr. WALSH], our subcommittee chairman, recognizes it as well. He is now with the President heading a bipartisan delegation, as he is in this House, Chair of Friends of Ireland. I applaud that. I have no objection to his going and applaud opportunities for Members to work together like this in a bipartisan line.

I hope he comes back not only as a friend of Ireland but as enough of a

friend of the District of Columbia so that we can guarantee that the city will not be closed down December 15.

BOSNIA POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss our Bosnia policy. In the past 4 years, nearly 250,000 people have been killed in that war-torn region, 2 million people have become refugees. Atrocities have been committed that have truly shocked the world.

The region has been a tinder box for European instability for centuries. Thus the peace agreement agreed to by the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia in Dayton, OH is indeed an historic step toward bringing peace and ultimate stability to this region.

However, the deployment of over 20,000 United States troops to Bosnia to enforce the peace raises many questions. One lesson I have learned from history is that when Congress and the President are not at once with the American people, our Nation suffers. First, the Nation must be committed, and only then should we send troops. Sending troops to Bosnia without broader public consensus will prove to be a mistake.

The President's recent efforts to convince the American people fell short of achieving that public support. May I ask, why in this post-cold war era, when our U.S. citizenry has been clamoring for more defense-burden sharing by our allies, has the United States again been asked to assume the central role in resolving this situation, even convening the peace talks in Dayton, OH rather than on the European continent. The short-term cost of U.S. participation will equal \$2.6 billion.

This entire matter is a defining moment in U.S. foreign policy in that the United States is being asked to substitute for European resolve in this post-cold war era.

In the NATO nations of Europe, we have thousands of European trained, deployable troops that could be dispatched immediately to Bosnia in the event a final peace accord is signed in Paris. Let me read to you the list of European countries associated with NATO and the number of their combat ready troops. This does not even count their reserve forces:

In Belgium, 63,000 troops. In Denmark, 27,000 troops. In France, 409,000 troops. In Germany, 367,000 troops. In Greece, 159,300 troops. In Italy, 322,300 troops. In Luxembourg, 800 troops. In the Netherlands, 70,900 troops. In Norway, 33,500 troops. In Portugal, 50,700 troops. In Spain, 206,500 troops. In Turkey, 503,800 troops. In the United Kingdom, 254,300 troops, bringing the total NATO active forces to over 2½ million war-ready forces.

Identifying 20,000 ground troops from among these forces would represent

less than a 1-percent additional commitment for NATO's European partners to enforce the peace. Is that too much to ask of them? If the United States maintains our logistical and our air support.

The administration has stated that Europe, since 1914, has been unable to effectively maintain the peace and there was no other recourse but for the United States to assume the lead in bringing the warring factions to peaceful resolution. They have urged us not to become isolationists. The truth is, the long-term prospects for peace in this troubled region are very slim. Once the NATO troops withdraw, it will require 50 years of cooling off between the warring factions and maintenance of borders by external forces to give peace a chance. A 1-year quick fix is not going to do it.

Who will commit to that long-term maintenance of peace? And who will pay for it? Is it not time for NATO's European partners to measure up to their common defense? The United States, as a partner in NATO, has a role in logistical and air support, but we should not be sending ground troops to Bosnia. NATO in Europe is perfectly capable of doing that on its own, if it wished to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from American Samoa [Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

ON BOSNIA AND BUDGET NEGOTIATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SCARBOROUGH] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, although I am going to be speaking today primarily on the need to balance the budget for the American people, I would like to echo some of the sentiments that the gentlewoman from Ohio just stated before this House, all and all, to those that may be watching at home.

I just returned from a national security meeting where we had the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili, coming and testifying before our committee one more time telling us why American troops need to be sent to Bosnia. Unfortunately, while we saw a lot of good charts and saw that General Shalikashvili obviously had done his homework and was going to try to carry this mission out in as impressive a way as possible, unfortunately, there was one question that was not answered over there. That question was,